

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 5451

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, US, UR

SUBJECT: IKLE-KUZNETSOV CONVERSATION ON DISARMAMENT TOPICS

1. SUMMARY: ACDA DIRECTOR IKLE AND SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KUZNETSOV DISCUSSED MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT ISSUES OF ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION, CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (MDW) IN NOV 18 CONVERSATION. THEY AGREED TO CONTINUE CLOSELY COORDINATED EFFORT ON BEHALF OF RESOLUTION ENDORSING ENMOD CONVENTION. IUZNETSOV MADE MILD BID FOR NEW CW BILATERALS BEFORE SPRING 1977 CCD SESSION; IKLE THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE PREMATURE. KUZNETSOV MADE SIMILAR SUGGESTION FOR MDW BILATERALS, REITERATING IMPORTANCE SOVIETS ATTACHED TO SUBJECT. HE ACCEPTED IKLE'S RESPONSE THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES MATTER COULD BEST BE DEALT WITH BY CO-CHAIRMEN AFTER SPRING SESSION BEGAN. KUZNETSOV DID NOT SEEK TO LINK MDW INITIATIVE WITH JUST-ANNOUNCED US PROPOSAL ON RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE. END SUMMARY.

2. SOVIET DEPT FOREIGN MINISTER KUZNETSOV INVITED ACDA DIRECTOR IKLE TO SOVIET UN MISSION NOV 18 FOR CONVERSATION COVERING SEVERAL MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT TOPICS
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OF MUTUAL INTEREST. KUZNETSOV BEGAN WITH APPRAISAL OF

SITUATION IN UNGA FIRST COMMITTEE CONCERNING FINNISH RESOLUTION ENDORSING ENMOD CONVENTION. KUZNETSOV SAID BIG EFFORT BOTH SOVIET AND USDELS WERE EXERTING ON BEHALF OF THIS "IMPORTANT ITEM" MUST CONTINUE, AIMING AT MAXIMUM CO-SPONSORSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR RES. SOVIETS DID NOT CONSIDER OUTLOOK ENTIRELY ENCOURAGING AT THIS JUNCTURE.

3. IKLE AGREED THAT EFFORT SHOULD BE PRESSED. HE THOUGHT IT COULD BE HELPFUL TO REMIND OTHER DELS OF HISTORY OF ENMOD INITIATIVE WHICH US AND USSR HAD DECIDED TO MULTILATERALIZE AFTER INITIALLY PROCEEDING ON BILATERAL BASIS. IF OTHERS REJECTED THE RESULT OF THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING PROCESS, THE TWO COUNTRIES NEVERTHELESS HAD DONE THEIR PART. IT ALSO COULD BE POINTED OUT THAT CCD, IN NEGOTIATING THRESHOLD TREATY, HAD BEEN ENTIRELY RESPONSIVE TO LAST YEAR'S UNGA RES WHICH HAD CALLED FOR NEGOTIATION ON BASIS OF IDENTICAL DRAFT TEXTS SUBMITTED BY US AND USSR WHICH HAD, OF COURSE, EMBODIES THRESHOLD APPROACH.

4. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION OF TACTICAL SITUATION, THE INTERLOCUTORS AGREED THAT FOR THE TIME BEING THE CO-SPONSORS OF THE FINNISH RESOLUTION SHOULD PRESS AHEAD ON BASIS OF PRESENT TEXT, BUT MEANWHILE US AND SOVIET DELS SHOULD AGREE ON MODIFICATIONS OF THE RES WHICH COULD BE OFFERED AS A COMPROMISE AT THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT.

5. TURNING TO CW, KUZNETSOV ASKED IKLE'S VIEWS ABOUT A NEW ROUND OF US-SOVIET BILATERAL TALKS WITH EXPERTS BEFORE THE MID-FEBRUARY RECONVENING OF THE CCD. HE SUGGESTED THESE COULD BE OPPORTUNE ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF CCD'S ANTICIPATED FOCUS ON CW IN 1977. KUZNETSOV EXPRESSED VIEW THAT LAST BILATERALS (IN AUGUST 1976) HAD NOT GOTTEN VERY FAR. "FRANKLY", HE SAID, "WE EXPECT MORE FROM OUR AMERICAN PARTNERS," PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF TWO SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR CW AGREEMENT MADE FOLLOWING 1974 SUMMIT AGREEMENT TO CONSIDER JOINT INITIATIVE.

6. IKLE SAID US THOUGHT LAST SUMMER'S TALKS HAD BEEN USEFUL. WHEN DISCUSSIONS REACHED THE SERIOUS STAGE AND CONFIDENTIAL

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THUS TOOK UP THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF VERIFICIATION, IT WAS TO BE EXPECTED THEY WOULD BECOME COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT. REGARDING A NEW ROUND OF BILATERALS, IKLE EXPRESSED THE PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE PACE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED AT THIS TIME. IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO TRY TO SCHEDULE TALKS BEFORE THE CCD; HOWEVER, THE CO-CHAIRMAN AT THE CCD COULD RESUME THEIR DIALOGUE, ASSISTED BY EXPERTS. PRECISE TIMING SHOULD BE LEFT TO

CO-CHAIRMEN, IN LIGHT OF THEIR INITIAL CONTACTS AT CCD.

7. ACCORDING TO KUZNETSOV, SOVIETS REGARDED CW AS AN ARMS CONTROL AREA OFFERING REAL PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS. 7 4, HE STRESSED, SERIOUSLY DESIRED CW DISARMAMENT. HE AGREED THAT VERIFICATION PROBLEMS WERE REAL AND SERIOUS; VERIFICATION WAS "AN AMERICAN DISEASE AND A SOVIET DISEASE AS WELL." HE SUGGESTED THAT THE RECENT SOVIET SUGGESTION IN THE UNGA DISARMAMENT MEMORANDUM ON VERIFYING DESTRUCTION OF STOCKS PROVIDED A GOOD BASIS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION.

8. IKLE NOTED THAT VERIFICATION PROBLEMS WOULD PERSIST WITH RESPECT TO DECLARED STOCKPILES FROM WHICH REDUCTIONS WERE TO BE MADE. HE OBSERVED THAT IN RECENT YEARS US HAD SHOWN GREAT RESTRAINT IN REFRAINING FROM NEW CW PRODUCTION (BINARIES). WHILE THIS RESTRAINT WAS, OF COURSE, NOT A COMMITMENT, IT SHOWED THE US HAD A SERIOUS INTEREST IN POSSIBLE CW LIMITATIONS.

9. TURNING TO MDW, KUZNETSOV SAID THE SOVIETS HAD APPRECIATED THAT THE US AND SOME OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD SENT EXPERTS TO THE CCD'S AUGUST 1976 INFORMAL MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT. REFERRING TO THE US PROPOSAL ON RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE JUST ANNOUNCED BY THE DIRECTOR IN A FIRST COMMITTEE STATEMENT, HE BANTERINGLY REMARKED THAT IT SEEMED THE US ALSO KEPT ITS EYE ON MDW. (HOWEVER, DURING THE CONVERSATION THE SOVIETS MADE NO LINKAGE BETWEEN THEIR PROPOSAL AND THE NEW US INITIATIVE).

10. KUZNETSOV TRIED AT SOME LENGTH TO JUSTIFY SOVIET MDW APPROACH. HE CLAIMED THAT IT WOULD BE CONTRADICTORY TO TRY TO DEFINE "NEW WEAPONS" IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC
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TYPES; THE EFFORT SHOULD BE TO PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS AS YET UNKNOWN BUT WHOSE EMERGENCE COULD BE FORESHADOWED BY SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

11. IKLE MAINTAINED THAT US VIEWS HAD BEEN WELL ARTICULATED BY THE US EXPERTS IN GENEVA. WE WERE NOT OPPOSED TO DEALING WITH SPECIFIC MDW, AS WAS DEMONSTRATED BY SALT, THE AGREEMENT ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN ORBIT, THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, AND OUR READINESS TO WORK TOWARD AGREEMENT ON CW. THE PROBLEM AROSE WHEN THERE WAS NO CLEAR AGREEMENT AS TO WHICH WEAPONS TYPES WERE PERMITTED AND WHICH PROHIBITED. SUCH AMBIGUITY COULD LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND DISPUTES, AND THUS SET BACK CAUSE OF ARMS CONTROL AND IMPROVING RELATIONS.

12. KUZNETSOV MAINTAINED THAT DEALING WITH SPECIFIC MDW DID NOT PRECLUDE THE SOVIET APPROACH WHICH AIMED AT A COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON ALL NEW MDW. HE SAID SOVIETS WANTED TO CONTINUE CONTACTS WITH US ON ALL LEVELS - EXPERTS, CCD CO-CHAIRMEN AND HIGHER. HE ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITY THAT US AND SOVIET EXPERTS COULD MEET BILATERALLY ON MDW BEFORE CCD OPENED.

13. IKLE REPLIED THAT ON THIS ISSUE AS WELL THERE SEEMED NO NEED TO RUSH INTO NEW TALKS. IT PROBABLY WAS PREFERABLE TO LEAVE QUESTION UP TO CCD CO-CHAIRMEN, WHO COULD CONSULT ON THE MATTER WHEN THE SPRING SESSION BEGAN.

14. WHEN CONVERSATION ENDED, KUZNETSOV ADDED THAT HE WOULD BE IN NEW YORK THROUGH THE REMAINDER OF THE 1976 UNGA SESSION "AND AFTERWARDS". HE MADE THIS POINT AS IF HE WERE CLEARLY INTERESTED IN FURTHER HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS WITH US OFFICIALS.
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